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Letter from Tucson.

[CORRESPONDENCE OF ARIZONA MINER.]

TUCSON, Arizona, September 9, 1868.

EDITOR MINER:—I promised, in my last letter to you, to tell you the result of the suit of *Quo Warranto* pending in the District Court at this place, which, if decided against the respondent, would, in effect, render void all the laws of the Territory, together with all proceedings under them. At the time of writing that letter it was understood that Judge Backus would deliver his decision on the following Monday, but the importance of the case, or rather of the consequences, if decided in one way, induced the Judge to take more time, and I believe it is the intention to submit it to the full Bench of the Supreme Court at its next session.

The MINER comes to hand pretty regularly and is much sought after by the people about town, and when found, some laugh and some swear. Most of them acknowledge however that you are a truthful and outspoken individual, although some of them suggest that there is a trifle too much "gall and wormwood" in you. Some few acceptions were taken to my letter as published, but no fights have resulted.

The rain has been falling for the last twenty-four hours pretty steadily and everything is in a very moist condition. I was down town this morning and listened to the reports, and I did not hear of but one house that did not leak last night. The new Court House, of which the people of Tucson were justly proud, is likely to fall down, the walls having split and the roof leaking badly. I am sorry to hear of this, as the building was a credit to the place.

There is a great deal of sickness here at present, and almost every day a procession can be seen making its way towards the "City of the Dead." Many persons are sick with the fever and among the children the whooping-cough is prevalent and seems to be unusually fatal.

In the way of amusements there is but little going on, except among the Mexican population. They have been celebrating the *Fiesta* of San Augustine for about eight days, and apparently have had a good time of it. I believe he is the patron Saint of the village and of course it is right that the inhabitants should do him much honor. Day and night the plaza in front of the Church has been filled with merry makers who enjoyed themselves dancing, eating, drinking and gambling. But few Americans seemed to take any part in the amusements. But few difficulties occurred, and but one or two arrests were made during the whole time. Our old friend Hutton, (formerly Lieut. Hutton, 1st Arizona Volunteers) who is Watchman, Detective force and Chief of Police for the city, was around ready to arrest any one who became too boisterous in his devotions to his Saint. Everything passed off pretty smoothly, however, and was in every way creditable to the people who participated in it.

General Devin arrived here yesterday, to take command of the District, I suppose, in place of General Crittenden, who is going to San Francisco, and who will take with him a large number of the soldiers stationed here, to be discharged, their time having expired. General Devin seemed to be in good spirits and condition when he arrived here and it is to be hoped that he will make some changes in the operations of the military so as to render them of some use in protecting the country and chastising the hostile Apaches. The Indians are very bad all around this section of country, and every day or two brings news of some new depredation upon life or property. I suppose you will have heard before this reaches you of the death, at the hands of the Apaches, of another old pioneer of the country, James Pennington. He was killed about ten days ago, near San Xavier. The citizens are roused at last, by the repeated murders and thefts of the red rascals, to take some action for their own defence, independent of the "boys in blue," and a very sensible movement has been made, if properly conducted. A subscription paper was circulated among the people upon which was put down by the subscriber the amount he would pay per month, to support a company of volunteers to act against the Indians. I understand that enough was subscribed to keep a company of fifty men in the field and the whole matter was put under the control of a committee of five. The Governor, it is understood, will commission the officer chosen to command the company.

His Excellency says he will start for Prescott in a few days. F. G. Christie is here enjoying himself well, apparently. Business is very dull; nothing doing of any kind, except selling the population of the city their daily bread and meat. It is rather amusing to stand in one of the stores of this "commercial centre" and watch the trade at the counter. Three pounds of flour, ¼ lb coffee, 25 cents worth of lard, ¼ lb sugar, 5 cts worth of sugar, etc., etc. Ask the merchants of the little town of Prescott how they would like to exchange their trade for that of the Capital. I am very confident I have seen a merchant here, employed busily for one hour, measuring and weighing to his customers, and at the end of that period he had not sold ten dollars worth. J. T. ALSAP.

Letter from South Pass City.

[CORRESPONDENCE OF THE MINER.]

SOUTH PASS CITY, D. T., Aug. 21, 1868.

EDITOR MINER:—After an absence of twelve months, I have come to the conclusion to write you a brief epistle, thinking, probably, it may be some satisfaction to you to get some news from this region, particularly from one who has been through the mill and has had the experience that your humble servant has had.

Well, this country is the grandest bilk of the age. The Prescott country is a paradise compared with it. There is not a single lode in the country. It is true, there is some little quartz in the country that will pay for working, provided a sufficient quantity could be obtained, but the country is a broken up slate formation, and the lodes are nothing more than little fibres and chimneys cropping out of the surface, through the slate, and it is the meanest climate on the face of the earth. We had a snow storm about the middle of June and I honestly believe a man would have frozen to death had he been caught out in it. In addition to this, we have the Crow and Sioux Indians to contend with, and when they do come they make it hot for us. They are different from your Apaches; whenever they catch a small party they are dead sure to take them in. I think I shall return to Arizona this fall. I have had enough of northern countries, and would rather live in Arizona and be a lamp post than to be a king in this section.

J. WALKER WILLIAMS.

Letter from Hardyville.

HARDYVILLE, Sept. 14, 1868.

ED. ARIZONA MINER:—That statement from "an intelligent and reliable," proves not to be correct. I reported it in good faith and had *good* reason for believing it. At present writing the treaty appears not to have been consumated, at least on the part of Mr. Wallapai. So many "reliable reports" get out that one dare not shoot his mouth off, now-a-days, without danger of being convicted of lying. The Indians, I know, are not yet upon the river, but the Interpreter informs me that Col. Price has given them ten days to come in and settle down among the Mohaves, and if they fail, then war to the knife. Travelers to and fro, between here and the Willows, pass along the route in peace at present and the "good Injin" is allowed to visit the traveler's camp. When the allotted time is up, I presume due notice will be given, and if they fail in coming up to the Colonel's treaty, there will be no more friendly greetings—but a war of bitter extermination, I hope.

Mr. Hardy, so say his employees, has struck some very rich rock in his mine. The "old gentleman" himself has gone to California on a visit, *viâ* Austin and Virginia, Nevada.

Hoping that no one was damaged by that "reliable" report and that you will make the *amende honorable*,

I remain very truly yours,

JAS. P. BULL.

THE MIDDLE AGE CATHEDRAL.—The cathedral was the grand popular monument of the Middle Ages. It was not only the place of prayer, and the abode of God, but the centre of intellectual movement, the storehouse of all art traditions and all human knowledge. What we place in the cabinets of museums our fathers entrusted to the treasury of churches; what we seek in books they went and read in living characters upon the chiselling of gates or the paintings of windows. This is why, we find in such number upon the walls of our cathedrals, those calenders, those botanical and zoological illustrations, those details about trades, those warnings about hygiene, which enclosed an encyclopædia for the use and within the reach of all. At Rheims, St. Denis, Sainte Chapelle, they kept stuffed crocodiles, ostrich's eggs, cameos and antique vases, relics of martyrs and Saints, to draw the people within the place of worship. So writes a devout Catholic.

Victor Hugo is superb when he signals the correspondence between the cathedral and the mind of the Middle Age. He not only discovers that the cathedral is the encyclopædia—it is also the stone bible, the majestic and visible poem, the grand publication of the time. Each stone is a leaf in the mighty volume, each cathedral a different and enlarged edition. The sculptor of the period, like the writer of the press to-day, had the liberty of expression, perhaps more liberty than is granted by a million-voiced public opinion to the writer in America. Then the bishop was the publisher; the people subscribers; the architect, the sculptor, the painter, the jeweler and the mason, fellow-workers.

Reconstruction.

One of the grand errors which the people of the North have committed since the close of the war lies (says the *Round Table*) at the basis of the whole reconstruction policy, and is independent of any question of the constitutional power to deal with the Southern States as they have been dealt with. It has consisted in the assumption of a necessity for *protecting* the negroes against the whites. The general belief in such a necessity has led the people of the North to acquiesce in measures which they certainly would otherwise have condemned, and of which they are now beginning to see the mischievous fruits. The error has extended to the means as well as to the end. We have assumed that the negroes needed protection at our hands, and then have committed the blunder of supposing that the ballot was to be the great panacea. It has proved to be a Pandora's box.

If a supreme ruler, having unrestrained authority and an ordinary share of wisdom and benevolence, had been called to consider the problem presented by the sudden abolition of slavery as one of the consequences of a civil war growing out of a political revolt against his government, it is probable that one of the last projects that he would have adopted would have been to reverse the political and social relations of the two races by conferring political power upon the inferior race and taking it away from the superior. But wise or unwise, constitutional or unconstitutional, the action of Congress toward the Southern States has been founded on a monstrous assumption. The whole social history of the South for a period of fifty years preceding the rebellion shows that the relations between the two races had in general been kindly and harmonious. There were evils enough attendant upon slavery, and it was certainly a blot upon the escutcheon of such a republic as ours. We have all reason to be thankful for its removal, and this we believe is the opinion of ninety-nine in every hundred of the former masters. But whether it arose from the nature of the negro, from the fact that for so many generations he had been a slave, or from the virtues which such a system engendered in the whites along with vices which it produced, it is undeniable that protection and good treatment of the blacks were the settled habits and firm disposition of Southern society. If it had been otherwise, we never should have witnessed the extraordinary spectacle, which was displayed all through the war, of a servile population remaining peaceably at work in the absence of their masters, who were carrying on a war one of the avowed objects of which was to continue them in their servile condition. There was no such thing as a serious slave insurrection in the whole South while the war was going on. In cases almost innumerable the slaves on isolated plantations, where white women and children were left without any protectors of their own race except a single overseer, were faithful to the last, carrying on the labor of production which furnished the sinews of war as well as the means of subsistence for all. The National Government obtained no important military advantage in the whole course of the war which can be said to have accrued from any willingness of the blacks to rise *en masse* against the supposed oppressors. This spectacle has at no time impressed the people of the North as it did the people of foreign countries, and we have not drawn from it the important lesson it should have conveyed to us.

It should have taught us that when the people of the Southern States, after the war was ended, consented to ratify an amendment of the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery, and when they were ready, as they certainly were, to adjust their legislation and customs to a system of free labor, our further interference would be both unnecessary and mischievous. It was clearly unnecessary, because there was no oppression, and no feeling that rankled in the bosoms of the whites against the blacks. It was certain to prove mischievous, because as legislators for the South we were utterly incompetent to deal with a problem so far removed from us, so local, so peculiar, and involving so many details of which we could know nothing. We were completely ignorant of the race for whose benefit we undertook to act. We were ignorant of the processes and necessities of the agriculture which depended on their labor. What kind of contracts the owner of the soil could make with the freedmen, what contracts could be enforced, how subsistence was to be provided, how the laboring population were to be kept at work and kept in health—that population being one just emancipated from the absolute will of an owner and no more capable in general of self-direction than so many children—these were matters with which it was impossible for any government to deal wisely which entirely lacked representative men belonging to those communities, and assumed the relation of a sovereign who had quelled a political revolt. We did the very worst thing that we could have done. We sent a military power to deal with social problems that required local knowledge and the experience which generations of civilized and intelligent white men had acquired in dealing with the negro; and the agents of that military power were Northern strangers, very poorly qualified to legislate for a people whose interests and whose wants they could not understand, and against whom they carried with them strong political prejudices. The Freedmen's Bureau was founded upon the idea that the blacks needed protection against the whites; and along with this came another stupendous mistake, that it was necessary to repress the whites because they had been "rebels," and to proclaim the blacks to be the "loyalists" and "Unionists" because their former masters had engaged in a political revolt against the Federal Government. This running of political distinctions into problems that were purely social, legislative and local—the problems of free labor where slave labor alone had produced the great staples of a very peculiar region—soon excited the ambition and chicanery of a certain class of politicians who have had the predominant control of the Federal Government since a comparatively early period in President Lincoln's administration.

These men conceived the idea that if the ballot could be put into the hands of the negro they could control the political character of the Southern States, and by means of a population which they could handle as they pleased, the Southern States might be made, politically, Republican; as they would certainly become Democratic if the whites were left in possession of the political power. But how the ballot was to be got into the hands of the blacks was a question not easy to be settled. The institutions and the fundamental law of the United States did not admit of any interference by Congress with the right of suffrage. The making or unmaking of voters by an act of Congress was a thing unheard of; and even the most radical of our Radicals did not at first see their way to this assumption of power. They proposed an amendment of the Constitution which would deprive the Southern States of their proportion of representative populations unless they conferred suffrage upon the negroes. This amendment was rejected by the people on whom it undertook to force a change which they knew the freedmen were not fit for, and for which there was no kind of honest necessity. What was to be done? Negro suffrage must be had, or the political power of the Radical party in the North was in danger of being lost by the reaction naturally to be expected after a civil war. *Reconstruction* was the only remaining resource—a scheme which ment that the Southern States, as they then existed, should be suppressed; that the whites who would not consent to negro suffrage should be disfranchised by the direct force of an act of Congress, that suffrage should be conferred on the blacks by the same power; and that the *state* should thus become an entirely new body of people, a majority of whom are destitute of even the rudiments of education, and are less fit for the exercise of the right of suffrage than any corresponding population in any country of Christendom; if, indeed, there is any other population of a distinct race, situated in the midst of the intelligent and educated Caucassian races, and with which the negroes of our Southern States can be compared. Governments that are thus based upon the most ignorant and degraded class, that class being an inferior race and being made by the disfranchisement of great numbers of the superior race the actual holders of the political power, can possibly accomplish nothing but mischief. The scheme could not have originated in any other motive than a design to obtain the political control of those States in the elections which relate to the offices of the Federal Government. The idea that the blacks needed protection against the whites has been honestly entertained by the masses of the people of the North, whose erroneous convictions have thus furnished the politicians with a pretext; whereas we should all have seen and admitted that the best protectors of the blacks in their new condition of freedom were those who had always lived with them, who were born on the same soil, who best understood them, and whose strongest interest it was to raise their condition as fast as it could be raised by prudent and honest legislation. No good has yet been done in the relations of the two races by the interference of Congress. At the same time the state of things which has been produced, politically, is deplorable. A race of adventurers from the North, of the worst type of politicians, appropriately dubbed in the political slang of the day as "carpet-baggers," are assuming the most important offices of those States, and are swarming into Congress as representatives of the Southern people; while the legislatures of the new negro governments are composed of the least intelligent, the least capable, and the least honest of the white race, with an intermixture of blacks, most of whom cannot read or write. The new governments, too, are started with the fundamental condition, imposed by their constitutions and enforced by the terms of their admission into the Union, that the universal suffrage should never be changed. What a future, then, is before those States! Bound forever—if the scheme is capable of lasting—to an irreversible and unchangeable condition of society, that condition being that gross ignorance and absolute poverty shall hold more political power than intelligence and property; that laws shall not be made by those who are best, but shall be made by those who are least qualified to make them; and that no man shall hold office or cast a vote who does not first take an oath that he believes in the political and social equality of races on which the hand of Heaven has stamped indelible marks of relative inferiority and superiority which have always been developed and always operated whenever they have been brought in contact.

The prospect is melancholy enough. One thing, however, appears to us clear, whether the one party or the other prevails in the approaching Presidential election. It is, that this condition of things in the South cannot continue. It is a kind of legislation that is impracticable for any but a temporary and factitious purpose. It is a scheme which may possibly give the electoral votes of the reconstructed States to the Republican candidates; but as the basis of the future polity and condition of civilized States it is too manifestly a violation of ordinances of Providence to remain long in operation. Daniel Webster once said—speaking of the impossibility of introducing African slavery into a region where it was excluded by the irresistible forces of climate and soil—that it was useless to reenact the laws of God. It is worse than useless to legislate against His laws; and that it is one of His laws that educated intelligence, experience, and virtue shall govern the affairs of this world is certain.